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New Republic

JERUSALEM TESTS THE UNITED NATIONS

AN EDITORIAL

BRITAIN'S TWO ROADS

First of a series by NORMAN MacKENZIE

HAROLD L. ICKES ON: PARNELL THOMAS' SENTENCE

YEAR-END LIST OF RECORDINGS

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Question No. 1

"New ideas are painful and new ideas in politics are among the most painful of all. Yet in new ideas, in fresh appraisal of beliefs stubbornly held, lies the only hope, small as it may be, of breaking the UN deadlock on atomic-energy control."

THE quotation is from the New Republic's editorial, "A Proposal for Atomic Peace," published during the excitement caused by the news of an atomic explosion in Russia. The editorial made five specific suggestions for a reexamination of our position on the Baruch Plan.

At Lake Success, Senator Warren R. Austin and other representatives, and writers for the New York Times and Herald Tribune, carefully studied these suggestions as offering possible avenues of renewed discussion.

On December 5 the New Republic printed a letter addressed to the UN General Assembly by two engineers who served at Oak Ridge, Cuthbert Daniel and John L. Balderston Jr., containing further concrete ideas that were recognized as having great usefulness for the reopened discussion.

Control of atomic energy is the number-one question confronting mankind. Until we can be sure the frightful power of nuclear fission will be turned, by international agreement, away from violence and war, all future hopes are darkened by fear.

The only way this number-one question can ever be settled is through discussion.

Discussion which means the never-ending quest for new ideas, new formulations, the patient and fair-minded examination of the other side's arguments—that is a function of journalism, as well as of assemblies and parliaments.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

BACK IN Washington briefly, President Truman scheduled a Cabinet session for a preview of his big Budget and State of the Union messages. Thereafter he goes to Independence, for a family Christmas; then returns here and the political New Year starts. The Truman messages and his Economic Report will be the basis of debate till the November election.

It seems fairly certain now that Congress won't pass the taxes necessary to balance next year's budget, the President can't and won't cut expenses to do the job, and inflation will get a big boost from this deadlock. Early next year the government pays out a couple of billions to veterans in military-insurance refunds which should stimulate current easy spending. Treasury Secretary Snyder is keeping interest rates low, which means "cheap money" for everybody, a situation that for some people is analagous to cheap gin. Installment buying is now at an all-time peak. One deflationary circumstance is the position of the farmers: their incomes should be smaller next year (a point Secretary Brannan has stressed in arguing for his farm plan). But otherwise consumers should have more money, and should spend it.

Living costs went down only about three percent in 1949, in contrast to the big drop for which we all hoped; 1950 may not show much more decline. With Big Steel now blazing the trail to higher prices, the nation's delicate balance points to more inflation.

There will always be potential character-assassins like Westbrook Pegler and Fulton Lewis Jr.; the new feature in modern life is the machinery for mass dissemination that makes them nationally potent. If it weren't for the Hearsts and the Mutual Networks they would be simple sports writers whose malevolent bias would be the joke of their associates. In Lewis' case, since the Mutual Network won't take responsibility for its man, the ultimate power lies in the Federal Communications Commission, which has authority to police the air.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has made no gesture to summon Lewis, though he and he alone made the nationwide charges against Wallace. The members of the committee, like most men who drape themselves in patriotism for political ends, are, in our opinion, afraid of Lewis.

Lewis has been getting a terribly bad press. He picked up the "plot" story which Jordan had vainly tried to peddle to *Life* magazine and embroidered it with his own direct charges. Lewis has been massaging the prejudices of conservatives for years, but the degree of his acceptance has varied with his listeners' distance from Washington. After all, gullible people asked, would Mutual present a biased commentator? The answer is Yes, it would. We have frequently criticized *Life*, but we honor it for its editorial last week: "As for Fulton Lewis Jr., the broadcasters and sponsors who bring him and others of his breed to the millions might get together and have a little talk of their own. They have a lot to answer for."

On the political front the men who run the GOP have suddenly veered sharply Right. Like most things, this has a direct economic basis. Republican funds are low. The millionaires who supply the cash are taking out a new mortgage on the party. This accounts for the attacks on "Me, too-ism" at the GOP strategy conference. Republican progressives like Lodge, Ives and Morse are, of course, unhappy. But it's the duPonts and the Colonel McCormicks who have the dough. The long-term trend in America is toward

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liberalism. A bunch of GOP Senatorial conservatives come up for reëlection next November—Capehart, Donnell, Downey, Hickenlooper, Millikin, Taft, Wiley and Young. Events seem to be conspiring to change a lot of faces in the next Senate.

Again and again scientists insist that America is losing more by its restrictive secrecy procedure than it is gaining. Dr. Urey, head of the nuclear-physics group at Chicago, who hates Communism, was the latest to emphasize this while here last week. If Dr. Edward U. Condon is put on the witness stand in the New York Coplon-Gubitchev case this week to tell of alleged FBI tapping of his wires (after he came under the suspicion of J. Parnell Thomas' Un-American Activities Committee), his views may be asked. Dr. Condon reports scientific treatises coming out of Russia on matter that is still held on the "classified" (secret) list by Washington security officers.

Notes. If US Steel's Ben Fairless could only understand that his industry is charged with the public interest, there would be no sudden, one-sided announcements of price boosts like last week's, public-relations men say. Under the circumstances, a Congressional inquiry is inevitable. . . . It's touch-and-go whether liberals and conservatives can coöperate on the Hoover Commission's governmental-reorganization program, as note the resignation of Dewey Anderson, head of the excellent (liberal) Public Affairs Institute; there's so much genuine need for reform that commission disintegration would be unfortunate. Even when Hoover tries not to, he goads the progressives. . . . We're going to have talk of an Eisenhower boom for the next three years no matter how often denied; even Ike doesn't realize the desperate GOP strength behind the "draft" demand. . . . Ex-Nazi banker Herman Abs has been making the round of official calls under State Department auspices, a fact exposed by Senator Gillette.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Ike on Security

SIR: General Dwight D. Eisenhower has been going around the country talking against security, which he believes is incompatible with free enterprise. "If all Americans want is security," General Ike suggests, "they can go to prison."

This is supposed to be a free country, where anybody may argue as he pleases; but this sort of talk comes oddly from the General, who has been on a public payroll all his adult life. To be sure, being a soldier carries risk; but it is economic security Eisenhower is discussing. Everyone knows that once you become an officer of the Regular Army you are on a lifetime payroll. No General is ever fired except for egregious misbehavior.

Retired generals draw good fat pensions; if General Ike has refused his, nobody has heard of it. He is now employed as a college president; it is well-known that college presidents, like generals, are practically never fired for any reason. Eisenhower served his country magnificently, and Americans are grateful, but he is the last man to speak sarcastically of people who go on a payroll and stay there.

Danbury, Conn. WILLIAM WEEMS

Catholics in Congress

SIR: The controversy between Archbishop Spellman and Mrs. Roosevelt, together with the unfortunate influence of Paul Blanshard's book [*American Freedom and Catholic Power*], has stirred up some feeling among non-Catholics that Catholics are an unprogressive influence in our political life.

The record of Catholic Senators and Representatives is clear. On every vote in the House and Senate used by your paper to separate the liberal sheep from the reactionary goats in the 80th Congress, Catholic Senators and Representatives had a better voting record from the liberal point of view than the Senate and House of Representatives as a whole. That was true on federal aid to education as well as on other issues. There was only one issue in the Senate on which the Catholics voted less liberally than the Senate as a whole, and then the difference was slight. Taking all the issues together, Catholic Congressmen had a record twice as liberal as the average vote of Senators and Representatives as a whole.

Let's look at the record, as Al Smith used to say.

New York City ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

What Russia Promised

SIR: In *The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia*, reviewed in the *New Republic*, November 29th issue, Max Beloff insinuates the USSR might not have tried so hard to get England and France to help defend Czechoslovakia *if she had not been certain* they would refuse. Julian Towster, in an effort to support Beloff's summary, said:

> To many a student of politics this will look like a rather strained interpretation on the basis of the evidence, so meticulously adduced by the author himself. Yet no one can complain that he has not offered the reader sufficiently ample and balanced material to enable him to arrive at his own conclusion.

Both of the gentlemen's contentions fall flat in the face of the fact that in his speech at Topeka, Kansas, President Benes said: "The Russians told me that if I wanted to go it alone, they would back me."

If Beloff and Towster did not know what Benes—a central actor in the controversy—said, their ignorance disqualified them as judges or writers on the case. If they did know it, it is evident that they were trying to mislead their readers. . . .

J. D. V. MCWILLIAMS
San Lorenzo, Calif.

SIR: Mr. McWilliams either misunderstood or chooses to misinterpret my comment on Beloff's summary conclusion concerning the Munich affair. Far from supporting that conclusion, I called it into question. What I do support is Beloff's distinct effort at a balanced presentation of the facts—something which is becoming rare these days even among supposedly serious writers, who tend to confuse the function of scholarship with that of propaganda.

The detail mentioned by Mr. McWilliams does not add to the story of the Soviet position revealed in the pages of Beloff, who—among other things—invokes a number of authorities (Wheeler-Bennett, Seton-Watson, Mitrany, etc.) for the view of Soviet readiness to assist Czechoslovakia, and specifically cites additional sources to the effect that Benes was told by the Russians that they were prepared to back the Czechs alone (Vol. II, p. 162, n. 2). Whether or not one agrees with some of his interpretations, Beloff appears to have gone out of his way to bring out rather than conceal facts. Had Mr. McWilliams taken the trouble to read the relevant chapter, he would have saved himself the embarrassment of making unfounded accusations.

Washington, D. C. JULIAN TOWSTER

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VOLUME 121, NUMBER 26, ISSUE 1830, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 26, 1949 **New Republic**

JERUSALEM TESTS THE UNITED NATIONS

TWO YEARS AGO the General Assembly of the United Nations decided to internationalize Jerusalem and to divide Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states. Both the Jews and the Arabs disliked the proposal; the Arabs precipitated a war about it. The Jews won a decisive victory in the field and, generally speaking, they still control the territory they then took by force of arms. The dividing line between Israel's holdings and those of King Abdullah of Jordan runs right through Jerusalem itself, the Jews controlling the new part of the city and the Arabs, the old.

Last fortnight, the Assembly stuck a stick into a hornet's nest. It reaffirmed the two-year-old decision to internationalize Jerusalem and its suburbs, and turned the job over to the Trusteeship Council. Both Jews and Jordan Arabs promptly announced they would not accept this action. The Jews went farther, and immediately moved the seat of their government from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem—all except the Department of Defense and that of Foreign Affairs; this last must keep in touch with the ambassadors who live in Tel Aviv, who probably would refuse to pack up and move. In defense of the removal it is said that the government had no alternative; feeling in Israel is so bitter that if this action had not been taken, the terrorist bands would have reappeared and quite possibly the government might even be overthrown.

How did the United Nations get itself into such an imbroglio, with its prestige staked upon a settlement which it is clearly powerless to enforce? This extraordinary action came through the formation of a temporary bloc of extremely odd political bedfellows: the Catholic countries of South America, the Arab countries (except Jordan) and Russia and her satellites. There is no evidence that there was any actual bargain among these disparate forces; each group voted for its own reasons.

The Catholics, among other motives, wanted to ensure access to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Bethlehem and other places associated with the life of Christ. The Arabs (with their position complicated by rivalry between Abdullah and other leaders) similarly wanted to protect the Mosque of Omar. The Communists' motives are obscure, and probably mixed. They knew the United States and Great Britain were opposed to internationalization, and were pleased to make trouble for these Western powers. Russia had voted for internationalization two years ago and was sticking to the record. The Russians have given up all hope of a Communist Israel, at least for a long time to come, because of the strength of social-democratic elements and the orientation toward the West. They believe that an internationalized Jerusalem gives them the best vantage point from which to conduct their propaganda and other activities among Jews, Arabs and everybody else.

The chief dissenters were the United States and Great Britain, and here, also, the motives were probably mixed. Great Britain supports Abdullah in his desire for the Old City; and she could hardly at the same time oppose the Jews' claim to the New City. The United States would undoubtedly welcome the internationalization of, at least, the holy places; but it would have preferred a more moderate and reasonable scheme, one which had some chance of being jammed down the throats of Abdullah's Arabs and the Jews.

In some other cases there is evidence that votes were being cast at Lake Success and Flushing Meadow by delegates who were keeping an anxious eye on internal political matters. Canada, for example, has a tremendous Catholic population; her delegation abstained in the preliminary ad-hoc committee, and then, having made the gesture to the Catholics, voted in the negative in the General Assembly. Australia, with a partly Catholic population, voted to internationalize before her national election, and abstained after it, in the Trusteeship Council.

What happens next? Already there is talk of a deadlock in the Trusteeship Council to be followed by a special meeting of the General Assembly next spring. The UN has no army, and no country will lend it troops to enforce a decision so clearly injudicious; if it is to avoid a calamitous loss of face, some way must be found for it to climb gracefully off the limb where the Catholics, Communists and Arabs have placed it.

Such a compromise is not impossible. It would lie in international control of the holy places only, leaving the rest of Jerusalem divided, as it is today, between the Jews and the Arabs. The Jews would not oppose

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such a development; they have already proposed protection of the Christian and Moslem holy places (and their own Wailing Wall, a fragment of the Temple of Solomon, in the Arab area), through simple covenants with the UN by themselves and the Arabs. There is good reason to believe that Dr. Chaim Weizmann made an offer of this sort when he was last in New York, to Cardinal Spellman, and that the Cardinal, with characteristic intransigence, rejected it and thus contributed to the present trouble.

While such a solution, a few months from now, would get the UN around a bad corner, it would not solve an underlying problem of increasing seriousness. That problem is the tendency of various groups in the UN to make logrolling compacts. The Latin American and Arabian blocs did this in settling the fate of the former Italian colonies ("The UN as King Solomon," the *NR*, December 5). This tendency can be as harmful as it has been, for many decades, in the American Congress, where spokesmen for various economic interests have combined forces to rob the consumer. The UN must remain above the level of this sort of power politics, if the hopes that have been built upon it are to come anywhere near fulfillment.

THE WEEK

STEEL PASSES THE BUCK

The price increase announced by US Steel on December 15 threatens economic disaster. While the average rise is only $4 per ton, increases on individual items go as high as $29 per ton. The corporation has passed on to the consumer the entire increase in labor cost resulting from the recent settlement of the strike. It has done so in the face of unparalleled profits made by the steel industry in recent years and the economies which still flow from production virtually at capacity. The profits of US Steel for the first nine months of this year were $133 million, the highest in 20 years. They compare with profits of $88 million for the same period last year.

By this action, Big Steel defies the President's Fact-Finding Board, which, after painstaking inquiry, said that the industry could pay pensions without raising the price of steel, and that if the price went up, the workers would be entitled to demand the wage increase which the Board declined to recommend. Marriner Eccles and other experts on our economy have warned that the United States faces the danger of inflation, especially in view of our unbalanced federal budget. The boost in steel will mean price increases on many items, and in many other cases contemplated reductions will be canceled. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) calls the increase "unjustified and inflationary," and is summoning Benjamin C. Fairless, president of US Steel, for a public hearing. Senator O'Mahoney's language is moderate indeed, in view of the facts.

NOT MERELY TECHNICAL

In 1936 a World Power Conference was held in Washington. Under the stimulation of Franklin Roosevelt, Harold L. Ickes and other men interested in human welfare, it discussed not merely the technical problems involved in producing and distributing electric power, but what power can mean to people, and how to get it to them at a price they can afford to pay.

Another power conference will be held in 1950, this one in London; but it will be as different as possible from the one in 1936. The private-power interests will control the forthcoming conference, and it will be devoted solely to technical engineering matters. The situation is like that at the United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources held at Lake Success last summer. That conference, also, was dominated by technical men—so much so that Americans present, among them Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, protested ("The Scientists Look at the Future," by A. G. Mezerik, the *NR*, September 19).

The rigid and narrow character of the projected meeting on power is the more deplorable because the committee behind it has been getting money from UNESCO, whose purposes are primarily humanitarian. We agree with M. L. Cooke, the distinguished consulting engineer, who says, in a recent issue of *Public Power*:

> In the light of what happened at Lake Success and what is scheduled to take place in London in 1950, it would appear that liberals must give increasing attention to the conduct of gatherings, technical in part, and supported by public funds, where the effort is made to exclude reference to the impact on man and the life of the community of the techniques under discussion. If we are to build an increasingly democratic and secure society, the results of laboratory investigations must increasingly be exposed to public view, together with their social implications, so that the whole people may profit thereby.

UN AS SOUNDING BOARD

In 1946, the General Assembly of the UN created a special committee, to last for three years. Its purpose was to find out and report what was going on in colonies all over the world. Colonial peoples everywhere welcomed this chance to have their grievances heard; but the colonial powers—especially Great Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands—objected violently. They said the UN committee was going far beyond its authority; that in fact it was trying to participate in governing the colonies; that the net

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result was to encourage the demand for independence that is sweeping colonial areas both in Africa and Asia.

Particularly ugly has been the question of the Territory of Southwest Africa, administered by the Union of South Africa under an old League of Nations mandate. The Union of South Africa comes closer to a totalitarian government at this moment than any other side of the Iron Curtain; what the white man is doing to the colored races there is familiar to many Americans through Alan Paton's magnificent novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*. South Africa refuses to put the Territory under UN trusteeship; and its representatives did everything possible to keep the Reverend Michael Scott, spokesman for the natives, from being heard at Lake Success at all.

The UN has now taken two actions highly unsatisfactory to Great Britain and the other colonial powers. Over their bitter protest, it has continued its special committee for another three years. It has also asked the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the rights and duties of a nation exercising a trusteeship.

One advantage of having such an organization as the UN is already apparent. The colonial countries are on the defensive, apologizing for and defending their actions. Forty years ago they could abuse the natives as much as they liked, and would have laughed at the notion that anybody had a shadow of right to interfere.

THE FARM PLAN WON'T DIE

The Brannan farm program, which Congress thought it killed last session, is livelier than ever as a political issue. Its vitality was indicated last week in a cross-country newspaper debate between Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan and Allan B. Kline, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

The bitterness of the dispute was made plain when Kline announced at the opening session of his organization's thirty-first annual convention in Chicago that, contrary to custom, the Secretary of Agriculture was not going to be the main speaker this time. In Brannan's place, Kline had invited Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D, N. M.), former Secretary of Agriculture, who was largely responsible for the Brannan Plan's defeat.

The Anderson flexible-price-support measure, strongly backed by the Farm Bureau, has been attacked by Secretary Brannan as a plan that "merely permits farm prices to fall faster in relation to non-farm prices." History shows that sliding-scale prices do not adjust production, but often tend to lead farmers to increase production in a "very natural race to keep up their total income," Brannan said in a letter to the Bureau, urging the group to have a "free discussion" of his new farm program. Kline replied that government guarantee of high and profitable farm prices at all times "is the beginning of the end of personal liberty for our farmers. . . . The illusion that Treasury checks make cheap food is nuts."

Senator Anderson had little to offer in the way of constructive criticism of the Brannan Plan. Addressing the 5,000 farmers attending the convention, Anderson said he had been wondering "who it is that's trying to speak for farmers, and who it is who should speak for farmers." He urged farmers to join the Federation and said he "appreciated very much the hard-hitting fashion the American Farm Bureau Federation presses for action on its program." Actually the Farm Bureau represents only about one-fifth of the farmers in the country.

Without mentioning names, Brannan replied to Anderson in a speech at the annual meeting of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minnesota: "Some of those who do claim to speak for farmers appear unwilling to present all sides of the price-support problem to those they assume to represent. And some individuals who make a pretense of presenting both sides are extremely careful to slant their presentation." (In general, the Brannan Plan has been opposed by the Farm Bureau and the National Grange and favored by the Farmers Union. Labor groups, both AFL and CIO, favor the plan.)

The Brannan fight overshadowed a two-year attempt to defeat Kline for reëlection as president. While the rebellion against Kline's leadership seems to be submerged, there are still mutterings against him in the state Farm Bureaus, especially in the South. Southern farmers are complaining bitterly about the new law, authored by Senator Anderson, which will result in the acreage of some cotton planters being cut next year as much as 80 percent. Others, who haven't been raising cotton for years, receive acreage allotments. (Brannan had testified against the cotton-allotment provisions in the Anderson bill and had recommended that the "historical base" system be retained to avoid such inequalities.)

The House Agriculture Committee met in a special session last week to discuss the dilemma. It made two recommendations: (1) that Secretary Brannan request farmers who don't intend to plant up to the limit of their allotment to release the excess to their local county production and marketing administration committees for reallocation within the county, and (2) that next year Congress amend the 1949 acreage allotment act to allow farmers to plant as much cotton acreage in 1950 as in any year during 1946-48.

As complaints by telephone and telegraph were pouring into the Department of Agriculture, 100 farmers met with Ralph S. Trigg, production and marketing administrator, at Memphis, Tennessee, to register their protests. "We are administering the law as it was passed by Congress," Trigg told the farmers.

PENNY-WISE GOVERNMENT

The Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report has a slogan that expresses the tenor of its whole campaign—"Better government at a better price." When the committee met last week for a two-day conference to urge Congressional action on the various Hoover Commission reports, it was evident that some of the national

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leaders present confused efficiency and economy in government with budget-cutting and budget-balancing.

Former President Herbert Hoover said the way the word "billions" is used in Washington shows that "the decimal point leads a restless and uneasy life in the federal government. Those groups of three ciphers separated by commas are moving steadily to the left." He outlined eight of the 18 reports originally recommended by the Hoover Commission, which he said would save the government close to $2 billion. Among the measures on which the Citizens' Committee will press for Congressional action are: a non-political civil service; revision of the antiquated federal accounting system; a Post Office Department, operating as a business and taken out of politics; a single water-development agency; and elimination of waste and overlap in the federal transportation services.

The Citizens' Committee insisted upon talking about dollar saving. Its experts assert that the Defense Department and the General Services Administration reforms adopted earlier this year will mean eventual savings of $1.25 billion annually in government operations. If the entire program is adopted, the committee says, it will save the taxpayers about $5 billion a year. Actually, there are no estimates in any of the Hoover Commission reports of the amount of savings that adoption of the recommendations would ensure.

No one would take issue with the concept behind the creation of the commission: "To promote economy, efficiency, and improved service in the transaction of the public's business ..." in the various government agencies. But, as Stanley Ruttenberg, head of the CIO's Department of Education and Research, told the Citizens' Committee: "This unwarranted emphasis on dollar value of economy is something which is disturbing, and may well have political overtones. ..."

HANDWRITING ON THE GREAT WALL

THE DOUGLAS MEDICAL PLAN

Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) intends to introduce a health-insurance bill next session which he says will stop the war between the American Medical Association and the Administration. This will be the fifth health-insurance measure before Congress. While all of the bills differ in many respects, Douglas' proposal is close to the Administration's own compulsory health measure in that he has suggested a payroll-tax plan.

The Douglas bill contemplates an insurance program to cover all medical expenses above five percent of the family income, or $150 a family a year, whichever is smaller. (The $150 figure is based on the fact that 60 percent of the nation's families make $3,000 or less annually.) Lower-income families would have medical costs met after they had exceeded five percent of their income. Douglas has explained that the principle of his plan is that of the regulation $50-deductible automobile-insurance policy, under which all costs over $50 are paid. He argues that doctors should favor this feature since it would insure them against default on large bills which the average family cannot pay.

Those who favor the Administration's long-range health-insurance plan say that the Douglas proposal is too narrow and, at the most, would cover only a medical emergency in a family. The Administration's measure, put forward by Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing and introduced in Congress by Senator James E. Murray (D, Mont.), provides complete medical protection for all plus a program for medical research, education, and special aids for rural areas.

There is little doubt that the AMA will be as much opposed to the Douglas bill as it is to the Administration's. The AMA Board still maintains its "negative" attitude against even such lesser measures as school health and grants-in-aid for medical and dental education.

FALSE PROSPERITY

Public Affairs Institute, the successful experiment in research founded two years ago by the late A. F. Whitney and his Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, has made a private analysis of the economic record for the first nine months of this year which contains ominous news. "American corporations in 1949 have been eating not only large slices of the profit melon but also the seeds for next year's business crop," the Institute economists conclude. Figures for the first three quarters of the year explain why the stock market has been booming in spite of the fact that "manufacturing output was down between 10 and 15 percent. Unemployment was double the previous year."

The boom results from unusual profit-taking. The survey observes that:

¶ Corporations paid dividends in the last nine months at a rate which will put them $1 billion higher for the year than in 1948.

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¶ In spite of increased dividend payments, they were accumulating *undistributed* profits at a rate that will put them a half-billion dollars ahead of 1948 at the end of this year.

¶ In the first six months of the year, they reduced their bank debts by $2 billion.

¶ During the first six months, they increased their investment in fixed capital by *a half-billion* above the first half of 1948.

Since the end of the war, corporations have invested almost $90 billion in new plants and equipment, largely out of current profits. At the same time, they have managed to keep their ratio of current assets and liabilities at the high point of more than two dollars in current assets for every dollar of current liabilities.

Meanwhile, consumers had reached the point, at the beginning of last year, where "29 percent of all American families had no savings and another 29 percent had an average of less than $500."

RENT-CONTROL REPRIEVE

The last vestige of rent control has been saved by the Supreme Court. The Rent Control Act, which covers all of the United States except the District of Columbia, was held unconstitutional by a District Court judge in Chicago last August on the grounds that the local-option provision for decontrol was too far-reaching a delegation of Congressional power.

The case involved an action started by the Federal Housing Expediter seeking to enjoin Shoreline Coöperative Apartment, Inc., of Chicago, from violating the act by evicting tenants of a co-op apartment house in which fewer than 65 percent of the stockholders were occupant tenants. In announcing its decision to reverse the ruling of the lower court, the Supreme Court cited its own decision last year on the 1947 rent law. In that case the Court approved a delegation of decontrol powers to the Housing Expediter. Housing Expediter Tighe Woods said the reference to the 1948 decision indicates that the Court believes the wartime housing shortage "still exists."

During the proceedings, the government called the case "one of the greatest importance to the public welfare." Some 12 million housing accommodations are now under rent control and had the law been killed, the tenants would have been defenseless. The federal Rent Control Act is due to expire next June 30.

PROFITS IN POWER

The 1949 profits of the electric utilities, which have spent close to half a million dollars this year lobbying against farmer coöperatives, rural telephones and rural-electrification measures before Congress, will prove to be the largest in the industry's history. The year's total earnings—$778 million—based on estimates and published results for the first 10 months of the year, are 16 percent above the $670 million earned last year.

First-quarter profits were $210 million (11.7 percent higher than during the same period in 1948); second-quarter profits were $183 million (16.6 percent above 1948); and third-quarter profits were $176 million (19.7 percent higher than last year). For the final quarter, earnings are estimated at $206 million—15.7 percent ahead of the $178 million earned for the same period in 1948.

The National Association of Electric Companies reported spending $305,751 for lobbying activities. The National Tax Equality Association reported contributions from 14 electric-power companies among 31 contributors of $500 or more during the third quarter this year. The private utilities were largely responsible for the defeat of Leland Olds, the Federal Power Commission's most vigorous opponent of high utility prices to consumers. With such well-padded profits, the utilities will undoubtedly spend more in 1950 to support legislation that will further weaken the power of the FPC to regulate prices.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Jeanne d'Arc quarter in the 13th Arrondissement of Paris is as far as anyone can get from the Champs-Elysées and other sections that give the City of Light its reputation for beauty, luxury and gayety. Tourists don't get to the Jeanne d'Arc quarter; they never see its darkness, poverty and misery. They don't know there's a neighborhood in the cultural capital of the Western world where a family could live for a month on the cost of a night's lodging at the Ritz or a meal at the Coq Hardi.

From this neighborhood a young man has been going out of a hovel looking for work these last few years. Usually he has found it, taking the meanest jobs at the lowest wages. A couple of months ago he was hired as a delivery boy at the Grenelle Laundry. He was a quite ordinary-looking young man in his late twenties—perhaps younger. His name was Boyer but he was as different from his film-famous namesake as a kitchen in his house is from one in Beverly Hills.

The manager of the Grenelle Laundry had seen many like this Boyer. He was short, slight, pale. Thick glasses made his face studious. And there was a quality of reticent gentleness about it that contrasted with the battle-jacket and ragged gray sports trousers he wore. All this the manager had also seen before; he knew the facial expressions of the defeated, the hand-me-downs of war they used as clothes. For a month Boyer worked hard. The customers were satisfied. So was the manager.

Then, suddenly, Boyer was fired: by chance the manager had found out something about the delivery boy that, in his view, made him an unfit worker for the Grenelle Laundry. Boyer didn't think the something the manager had

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found out made him unfit. He got a lawyer, went to court.

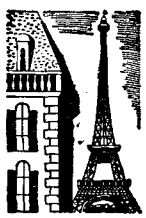
The manager told the court: "He fooled me from the start. He said he was a worker. That was a lie. We at the laundry have the right to know what a man really is."

The lawyer asked the manager: "Before you hire a man, do you make him tell you whether he is a member of the Communist Party or a Freemason?"

No, he didn't, the manager said, but this was quite a different matter. A Communist or a Freemason could be a worker. A man who was what Boyer was couldn't be a worker.

Boyer said: "But I worked, didn't I? I worked well. You yourself say so, and yet you discharge me. This is unjust—to all workers. Must a worker be a machine? Can't he have a soul?"

The question remains to be decided. Boyer is one of many men who have asked it. What the manager didn't like about Boyer was that he wasn't working only for the Grenelle Laundry. He was also working at a different task on his own time; he was working in the Vineyard of the Lord.



Abbé Boyer is a priest of the Mission of Paris, one of the French working-class missions that make France the last great stronghold of progressive Catholic liberalism. He is a vicar in the parish of Notre Dame de la Gare in the Jeanne d'Arc quarter.

There is a great city not famous for its light, its beauty, its luxury, its gayety, where no court's decision is needed to confirm the abbé's view of the relation between priests and workers. The city is Moscow. The men in the Kremlin understand the Catholic working-class missions. Moreover, they respect men like Abbé Boyer, or rather they fear them—and with the men in the Kremlin respect follows fear. They respect and fear the Boyers so much that they have given orders to the persons who do Moscow's bidding in all the great cities of the Western world to try to win over progressive Liberal Catholics like Boyer.

At the moment the most important of these persons is Palmiro Togliatti, Secretary General of the Italian Communist Party. He is spearheading the new Communist drive to divide and conquer in the domestic politics of the Western European countries. At the recent meeting of the Cominform, Togliatti said:

> In the struggle for the unity of the working class, we must pay special attention to Catholic workers and to their organizations, keeping in mind that religious convictions are not an obstacle to working-class unity, especially when this is necessary to save the peace. Concrete common action in the field of economic claims and the task of coördination in the struggles involving the relations between class unions and Catholic unions can be efficacious means of bringing the Catholic workers into the common front of the struggle for peace.

Togliatti appealed, moreover, for intensified efforts to gather into this common front workers at present unorganized. This happens to be the field in which men like Abbé Boyer are particularly active and successful, in which the practice of common fellowship on the lowest levels of the defeated and the underprivileged is more eloquent than the best doctrinaire preaching by the ordinary union organizers. Togliatti also lashed out against the right-wing Socialists, especially those who have posts in government coalitions. He took pains, however, to avoid attacking the left-wing Catholics. And though he bitterly criticized the laical anti-Communist or non-Communist labor unions in France and Italy, such as the Force Ouvrière and the Federazione del Lavoro, he refrained from saying anything against the Catholic labor unions in the same countries, also anti-Communist or non-Communist.

The men in the Kremlin know all about the Jeanne d'Arc quarter. In it they have their own men who look like and act like Abbé Boyer. They know that neither General Charles de Gaulle's pratings about glory and grandeur nor the Third Force's rhetoric about social justice has improved life in the vicinity of Notre Dame de la Gare. Peace and freedom have brought little to the homeless men who sleep in night shelters worse than anything on the Bowery. When the Communists talk of saving the peace, they know that the men in the night shelters might welcome being called by the Atlantic generals to become soldiers in the defense of the civilization of the West.

A French writer recently said: "European man is discouraged because he has been fooled. He came out of the war with two great aspirations: social justice and peace. In proportion as contact with reality increases his deception, he becomes the prey of defeatism. The Europeans work without energy, live without enthusiasm, defend themselves without hope."

The men in the Kremlin are afraid of men like Abbé Boyer precisely because the working-class priests of French liberal Catholicism offer by example the hope of social justice. The Politburo leaders don't and can't accuse the Boyers of being tools of the American capitalists—such accusations might make the Boyers' fellow workers think well of America.

The men in Moscow respect the Boyers, and also fear them, for a different reason too, one that emerges from the new supreme Communist goal of "the struggle to save the peace." When the Communists thought the Cold War would last indefinitely, they were on the side of defeatism in Western Europe; it served their peacetime purposes of wrecking. But now the Communists really fear—and expect—a shooting war, and now defeatism serves their purpose only when it stays over in the Champs-Elysées. Defeatism among the workers is dangerous for the Communists, who count on Fifth Columns in places like the Jeanne d'Arc quarter. In trying to give the workers hope, the Boyers are making the wrong kind of transmutation of defeatism. In trying to win over the Boyers, the Communists want to exploit successes on behalf of the Prince of Peace for *their* kind of peace. Perhaps the ECA men and the American colonels in Paris might take a walk across town.

PERCY WINNER

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TWO ROADS BEFORE BRITAIN

by Norman MacKenzie

ONCE THE Labour Government agreed to compromise with the House of Lords over the steel-nationalization bill, it became possible for Prime Minister Attlee to pick any time in the new year for the General Election. The nationalization of the steel industry rounds off the legislative program which Labour presented to the electorate in 1945. This program has been passed in its entirety, save for the small concession that the date for taking over the steel industry has been put off until after the voters have made their choice between another period of Labour rule and a return of the Conservatives.

The field is now clear for election campaigning. But even though Premier Attlee took the edge off the enthusiasm of the Tories at their annual rally in October by quenching their hopes of an election before Christmas, the shadow of the General Election has been hanging over British politics ever since the summer. Those who watched the special three-day debate in the House of Commons, called to ratify the devaluation of the pound, could agree with the *Economist's* judgment that "it added little or nothing to public knowledge of the economic policies favored by either the Government or the Opposition." But they were given a preview of the election fight.

It was obvious, after that debate, that the line of Winston Churchill and the Tories will be to accuse the government of bringing the nation to its present plight by incompetence, by stifling the economy, by waste and political chicanery. Labour, in turn, will follow the lead given by Aneurin Bevan, its only leader who is a match for Churchill in invective, and drag out again, as in 1945, the record of the years of Tory rule between the two world wars. It will be a conflict of negative, rather than of positive, policies.

The strategy that Bevan laid down is the most obvious and effective for the Labour Party. There never was much chance that it would fight the election as a crusade against American capitalism, with the Tories pushed into the role of quislings, though a few people in the Labour Party played with that idea. It is much more simple for Labour speakers to conjure up a grim picture of what may happen if the Tories return to power. Labour will argue, as Aneurin Bevan did, that it has done its best to patch up the obsolete and battered economy it inherited from the Tories, who, he charged, had neglected British industry and brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy before the war, "perpetuating themselves on the basis of keeping two million people out of work." Now, the Labour Party will say with Bevan, the Tories propose to solve Britain's crisis in the same way, but the Labour Party believes that a majority of the voters, "with memories of those dark days, afraid of what may happen to them," will return Labour to office.

This means, of course, that the paramount issue in the election campaign will be the way the British economy is to be run. For almost everything else depends upon it. Both the main parties have published elaborate programs, describing every aspect of their domestic and foreign policies. And some votes will be won or lost on the detailed items set out in *Labour Believes in Britain* and the Tory *Right Road for Britain*. But the real choice before the voters will be whether to go on seeking recovery down the road of social-democracy that Labour has blazed in these last four years or to turn aside on to the right road, hoping it will not lead back ultimately, through deflation and unemployment, to the economic wilderness.

This issue had to be faced by the Labour Government right after the decision to devalue the pound. By postponing the election for a few months, Labour was forced to make some emergency economies, though it would have preferred to wait until after the election was over. But it was able to give the country a practical illustration of the way it proposed to make the necessary reductions both in the national standard of living and in government spending. While everybody believes that more cuts must be made after the election, neither party will commit itself on this point until the votes are counted. But the cuts that Labour made were different in character and degree from those the Tories would have made if they had been in office, as Tory anger and dissatisfaction revealed. And this sharp conflict of views poses the real conflict between the two parties.

The Labour Party must do its best to spread the burden as evenly as possible over the whole population. Its slogan, "Fair Shares," is not designed merely to catch votes: it really reflects the party's philosophy. The Tories, on the contrary, believe that necessity is the

This is the first in a series of four articles on the major issues in the coming British General Election. The author is a member of the staff of the New Statesman and Nation (London). The second article, to appear in an early issue, will deal with the problems of British agriculture.

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mother of hard work. "Set the People Free" is their answer to "Fair Shares." Incentive, they argue, can only be restored to the businessman if he is set free from controls and crippling taxation; but it can only be restored to the worker if he is set free from security and made to fear that the devil of unemployment will take the hindmost.

Here is the crux of the matter. Neither Labour nor the Tories can offer the country cut-and-dried solutions to Britain's crisis. They can only offer sharply conflicting methods of tackling it. Labour is committed, in the words of the government resolution in the devaluation debate, to "maintaining full employment and safeguarding the social services." These are its two great achievements. It must plan its economic policy to defend and continue them. The Tories, however, believe that they are the two main obstacles to Britain's recovery. It is politically impossible to attack them directly. But neither of them could long survive the economic surgery of the Tory doctor, Winston Churchill, who will be asking Britain to give him a free hand.

Whichever party wins the election, it must somehow cope with Britain's most serious problem. How can the gap between imports and exports be closed? The gold and dollar reserve, in spite of American aid, had fallen to £350 million by the end of September, or less than three-fifths of the amount needed to cover the annual deficit. Unless something is done, quickly, Britain will not be able to import enough raw materials for her factories nor enough food for her people. It was a fear that this might happen that was one of the chief reasons for devaluation. Britain had to make the gamble that this would give exports an immediate and powerful stimulus.

But unless there is a striking increase in British production in the near future—and this seems most unlikely, though productivity has gone up this year by at least five percent—more exports can be achieved only by diverting goods from the home market. At the same time, the only way to reduce imports into Britain, already below the prewar level, is by imposing further austerity upon the British public. A cut in Britain's living standards is thus unavoidable.

There are two ways in which this cut can be made. The first is Labour's method, tried out for the last four years. It is to spread these cuts over the whole nation. It means continued rationing. It means the planned reduction of supplies of materials to industries working for domestic consumption. And it means that though prices may go up—as they will, now devaluation has occurred—incomes and wages must be kept at their present level. Labour, however, would seek to keep the nation fully employed and ensure that nobody falls below the minimum requirements of social welfare and nutrition.

The Tory alternative is a drastic deflation. This is what the Tory Government did in 1925, when Churchill put Britain back on the gold standard, and again in the crisis of 1931. If Britain had more than a million unemployed, it would be easier to carry out this deflation. If men and factories were idle, as they were before the war, both purchasing power and imports would be cut. The workless would once more carry the greater part of the burden.

This is, obviously, a choice between a continuing but controlled inflation, and an uncontrolled deflation which would follow from "setting the people free." The Tories, representing the business interest, know what they want. They want prices, rather than controls, to regulate the market, on the Belgian and Italian models, where rationing is by the purse. Next, through the banking system, they would pursue a "tight" monetary policy, which would inevitably make capital investment more difficult. Finally, they would try to reduce both taxation and government expenditure.

Taxation, certainly, is running at an abnormally high level. But unless drastic cuts are made in the national budget, the reduction in direct taxes on individuals and business—which the Tories believe necessary to restore proper incentives—could only be offset by stepping up indirect taxation, which would once again fall most heavily upon the poorer sections of the people. Suppose, however, that cuts are made in government spending. The Tories would make them by reducing the number of civil servants, by pruning the social services and food subsidies, and sharply curtailing the capital-investment program. The first of these methods would not save very much money: the other three would have immediate and serious repercussions in the country.

Yet can the Labour Party, if it continues in office, avoid making similar cuts? Undoubtedly, there is no chance of increasing the scale of benefits already offered by Britain's Welfare State. The Labour Government has already made an emergency cut of £250 million from the Budget. And it has been done without tampering with the essential features of the Welfare State, by making small economies all round, including cuts in the capital-investment program, which has been running at about 20 percent of the national income—well above the prewar level.

The Labour Party's chief difficulty, at this moment, is that quick results are needed, while its plans for Britain's economic recovery will take time to show real

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results. Years of neglect, followed by years of war, ran down Britain's industrial system. It needs new machinery and more modern methods of management. Many industries must be reorganized to get rid of the small and marginal firms whose backwardness or high overheads are keeping up costs. Though some progress has been made in the nationalized industries, especially in coal, the full advantages of state ownership will not be felt at once. And the industrial-research projects, sponsored by the government, will not begin to pay for three or four years. The Labour Party believes that greater productivity is not so much a matter of harder work as of improved equipment and technique. And those objectives cannot be achieved overnight.

The Conservatives, however, are convinced that the British economy is in a straitjacket. If the burdensome machinery of controls were lifted from industry and trade, they argue, output would go up and costs would come down. If the fear of unemployment returned, it would be easy to get wage levels down and get more out of the individual worker. If private rather than public enterprise were given the task of renovating British industry, it would be stimulated by the reward of profits for success and the penalty of bankruptcy for failure.

Each of these alternative policies is a gamble. The Labour Party is gambling that it can get through the next few years without sacrificing either full employment or the social services. This is an economic gamble. There is no guarantee it will succeed. But Labour has to make it. The Tories are making what is really a political gamble—that they could carry out their policy without provoking such opposition and industrial unrest that the economy would break down under the strain.

This is, indeed, a vital question. The Labour Party has already had great difficulty in holding back wage demands. It has had to make continuous appeals to the loyalty of the trade unions. If it is to succeed in controlling inflation, it will have to try that loyalty even further. Wholesale wage increases might well wreck all Labour's hopes. But if wages are to remain frozen, then Labour cannot cut welfare benefits, which now constitute a significant part of the workers' standard of living, nor can it cut heavily into the present food subsidies.

Next, if productivity is to be increased, what is needed from the workers as much as intensified effort is the surrender of restrictive practices. The Trades Union Congress, in its last report, admitted that these were a serious brake upon the introduction of new industrial techniques. Only a Labour Government which is able to keep up the morale of the industrial workers could secure such a concession.

The Tories could not get the unions to give way. The workers still cling to these practices because they fear that the Conservatives will come back and that, if they are abandoned and unemployment grows, the trade unions will find themselves deprived of their traditional defenses. Nor could the Tories prevent widespread industrial unrest. They might hope eventually to break the strikes that would follow, inevitably, the return of a Tory government. But the strikes, possibly with official union endorsement, might first do incalculable damage to Britain's economy.

Thus the issue between the two parties is clear. Do the British, who have actually made greater headway toward economic recovery and stability than any other European nation since the war, want to keep trying Labour's remedy, which at least is fair and has some remarkable achievements to its credit? Or do they wish to follow the swing back to laissez-faire which has gone on all over Western Europe, leaving Britain an island of planned austerity? Either course has its disadvantages and neither offers any guarantee of success. But the question on which the electorate must make up its mind is which way the nation will have to pay a stiffer price.

Of course, if Britain could drastically reduce her expenditure on defense, it would be much easier to find a way out of the crisis without reducing living standards or cutting back necessary capital investment on such things as housing, schools and hospitals, or the nationalized industries. Britain is now spending about £800 million a year on rearmament and overseas military commitments, or nearly one-twelfth of the national income. If world conditions would permit a change in Britain's defense policy, which could cut that figure by between 200 and 400 million pounds a year, the saving would make all the difference, both to inflationary pressures at home and overseas spending, which has to be paid for by exports.

Defense expenditure, however, will not be an issue between Labour and the Tories. Both parties accept it as a necessary burden, just as they must accept the diversion of a good part of Britain's exports to countries to which Britain has sterling debts and which send back nothing in exchange.

It would be foolish to make prophecies about this coming election. The decision will depend, in part, upon what happens before polling day. If the adverse effects of devaluation are felt before then, the Tories may be able to make political capital out of popular dissatisfaction at price increases and growing austerity.

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Or the Labour Party may be able to point to a sharp jump in British exports. But these are short-term factors. The real contest is between two ways of life—social-democracy and a "free" capitalist economy. This election may really be the parting of the roads. A Tory victory would make Labour's present term of office a gallant and interesting experiment. A Labour majority would be bound to take Britain farther down the road to socialism. But one thing is certain. Both roads, for the next few years, are bound to be hard and devious.

HIGH STAKES IN CALIFORNIA

by William Harding

CALIFORNIA, second only to New York in population and second to none in the urgency of its social problems and the complexity of its election laws, is about to have the biggest political battle in its history.

A great new political empire has sprung up in California, amorphous and unpredictable. Its six million established residents are notoriously independent in voting. Its four million new residents are without settled political allegiances. The problems they face and the power they represent constitute a challenge to politicians as dramatic as the discovery of gold a century ago. For after the 1950 Census, California will boast the second largest Congressional delegation and the second largest bloc of electoral votes in the nation. The faction or party that controls the state will have a formidable voice in national politics from this time on.

California, as Carey McWilliams says, is "still the pace setter, falling all over itself, stumbling pell-mell to greatness without knowing the way, bursting at every seam." It has raced ahead of its Western neighbors in economic development. It has also raced ahead of its form of state government and its capacity to govern in the general interest. California has the highest unemployment rate, the highest immigration rate, the highest rate of exhaustion of natural resources of any state in America. It faces problems today that will beset all America 20 years hence.

California has always been a state of extremes. Its employers and workers have been concentrated into groups hostile to each other, resulting in patterns of violence. Its shifting population has turned to many fantastic political, social and religious panaceas. Its farm laborers and migrant workers, disenfranchised and dispossessed, have lived in shacks stretching up and down the state in what Ernesto Galarza of the AFL calls "the largest continuous line of rural slums in all the Americas."

California's industrial expansion in wartime has left in its wake unparalleled shortages of housing, power, fuel, water and land. Commenting on the two major cities, San Francisco and Los Angeles, Dr. James L. Parsons says:

> In concentrating its growth so heavily in California's two great metropolitan districts the West may be building its house of cards. As the man-made superstructure of California's economy towers higher and higher its dependence on the coöperation of a capricious nature increases commensurately. . . . In terms of its resource space, California is probably being drastically oversold.

Three issues—water, power and land—dominate California's political future.

Three-quarters of the land of Southern California relies on water pumped from underground. In large areas of the Salinas, Santa Clara and San Joaquin Valleys the underground water table is falling so fast that the land is buckling and cracking, while 2,000 feet down pumps suck air or strike a final granite floor. It is not the flow of water that is being used up but the irreplaceable geological reserves.

No systematic conservation policies are followed. More and deeper pumps compete in more desperate efforts to follow the falling water levels. California has no coal. Its oil and gas reserves are estimated to be good for only 80 years. The demand for power is doubling every 10 years. Already the state has experienced "brown outs." It faces a critical shortage of power that could bring further development to a halt.

Land is getting short in California. The growing population can maintain its standards only by the most efficient possible use of what is left.

The Central Valley, 500 miles long, 100 miles wide, holds one-half of California's water reserves, yields a half of its farm income, holds 63 percent of its irrigable land; only four states in the whole country produce more food. The Central Valley Project, critical in California's political life, will irrigate the valley by pumping water southward in two stages, and will provide cheap and ample power. The project, the largest single development ever undertaken in America, is near completion. The question arises: who will control the valley; by whom will its incomparable resources be

"William Harding" is the pseudonym employed by a well-known student of conditions in California.

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worked, and for whose benefit? The Reclamation Act of 1902 offers the only present answer. Under its water-district system the benefits of its water supplies are limited to farms of 160 acres or less. In the past the Act has served only to establish patterns of land ownership in the public domain where none previously existed. But the Central Valley is privately owned: there, the Act may require the break-up of the huge tracts now held by such "farmers" as the Southern Pacific Railway, Standard Oil and the Bank of America.

Senator Sheridan Downey, who went to Congress in 1938 as a left-wing Democrat, has led the fight against the established reclamation policy. He has fought the 160-acre limitation and filibustered against the Department of Interior appropriations to prevent any funds being paid to two reclamation officials, Michael Straus and Richard Boke. Downey maintains that the acreage limitation is futile, since all water in the earth under the valley lies in a common pool, available to any well digger, and the 160-acre clause which forbids membership in a water district to a large landowner is helpless to prevent him draining out all the water he can get.

Most liberals, while they concede that many problems are involved in breaking the huge corporate farms of the Central Valley, maintain that Downey's argument is part of a general campaign that he has waged on behalf of the large landowners. Harold L. Ickes, who as Secretary of Interior had a substantial part in advancing the Central Valley Project, recently testified before a Congressional committee that Downey "never became identified with the project until he set out to wreck it if he could not annul the sound provisions of the 160-acre law."

Downey, who won his Senate seat by defeating another Democrat, William Gibbs McAdoo, could expect reëlection if he had to run against a Republican. But he may suffer McAdoo's fate: a dramatic challenger, Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, has entered the Democratic primary.

In contrast to Downey's traditional method of appealing to the primary interest of each pressure group, Mrs. Douglas realizes that the general welfare itself is endangered by accumulating problems and requires swift and drastic action by an aroused electorate and a militant legislature. She is a candidate because she believes that the problems of her state are far too urgent to permit solution by Downey's kind of leadership, and that only if the Democratic Party offers truly militant candidates and program can it keep the loyalty of California's hard-pressed voters.

Apart from reclamation, Downey has been largely a mute Senator in Washington. In the southern part of the state a poll by the San Diego *Journal* indicated that although most voters knew that William F. Knowland was their Junior Senator, few could remember their Senior Senator's name. Downey made no appearances on President Truman's behalf in the 1948 campaign. Only on the pension issue has he made a name for himself, winning as his strongest ally the old-age-pensions machine recently whipped together by George McLain. He has worked closely with the Republicans, and his present campaign manager, Robert Franklin, is a friend and ally of Republican Attorney General Frederick Napoleon Howser and a former public-relations man for the extreme right-wing Associated Farmers.

Mrs. Douglas, on the other hand, played a leading role in the 1948 campaign, and has been active in the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the debates in the UN General Assembly. She was a sponsor of the Atomic Energy Act. She has led in struggles for housing, rent control and civil liberties. She, alone in the California delegation, insisted that title to California's offshore oil be held for the federal government. She was influential in winning appropriations for a steam plant and public transmission lines for the Central Valley Project in 1949: appropriations which failed because neither Downey nor Knowland would sponsor them in the Senate.

Although he has been absent on several crucial roll calls, Downey's voting record is generally good. In California in 1950 is that enough? California Grange Federation leaders are overwhelmingly for Mrs. Douglas, whom they support as the champion of Central Valley's small farmers. Whatever position the trade-union officials take, Mrs. Douglas is likely to win the labor vote. As for the Democratic Party, most of its local leaders are devoted to Mrs. Douglas, but some of its largest contributors, like Edwin Pauley, support Downey for his efforts on their behalf in tidelands oil. In addition, under California's baffling system of cross-filing and cross-voting, Republicans will swarm to the Democratic primary booths to vote for Downey and against Mrs. Douglas: that is, unless they believe that they can win the Democratic primary for a Republican.

The second major race in California concerns the governorship, and is likely to be dominated by two appealing and ambitious men, Earl Warren and James Roosevelt. Warren must be reëlected if he hopes to remain in the national picture. He will be seeking a third term, if he runs, and California has never elected a third-term Governor. He has other serious handicaps.

On the two occasions when he was elected Governor, Warren won with the help of Democratic votes. He

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sponsored a health-insurance program over the protests of his own party. He has avoided statements of the ultra-conservative Republican variety. He has made gestures toward public housing and has garnered considerable labor support along the way. But this year, California Republicans seem tired of bipartisan candidates, no matter how successful, and Warren faces a fight in the primaries.

The change in sentiment may be partly due to a feeling among party leaders in the state that Warren, second man on the ill-fated Dewey ticket, is through as a Presidential possibility and therefore of doubtful use to them. At any rate, Lieutenant Governor Goodwin S. Knight, who had counted heavily on being head of the state government by this time, has announced his candidacy for Governor, and says he will stay in the race whether Warren decides to run again or not. The state's most conservative newspapers show signs of lining up behind him.

If Warren wins in the primary he will have to do it without Democratic votes. For the Democrats may be busy making a choice between James Roosevelt and E. George Luckey (or a candidate backed by Luckey for the purpose of defeating Roosevelt). Luckey, a wealthy rancher and Democratic state leader who supported Truman vigorously in '48, has had a stop-Roosevelt movement under way a full year and apparently intends to continue it, although Roosevelt's strength has been mounting steadily.

Luckey's grudge against Downey for his behavior in the 1948 campaign is twice as bitter in the case of Roosevelt, for Jimmy, after being elected to the Democratic National Convention as a Truman delegate, joined the Draft-Eisenhower movement for a while. This defection caused bitter feeling in the California delegation. Most of the party leaders are resigned to the Roosevelt candidacy at this point and believe Jimmy is the only man with a chance of beating Warren, but apparently the Luckey-Pauley faction would rather lose with another candidate than win with Roosevelt, just as many Republicans seem to prefer losing with Knight to winning with Warren. If Knight and Luckey should finally capture the nominations of their respective parties, the gubernatorial race might degenerate into a battle of pygmies, with no national significance.

Despite the lack of cordiality toward Roosevelt in his own party, he has assets that make him a formidable contender. His platform is liberal, although less outspoken than that of Mrs. Douglas. He has been on the air for months with a popular radio program. He sounds like his father. He has that magic name.

Roosevelt may get the support of the McLain old-age-pension organization, provided that organization is still in existence; he came out against repeal of McLain's pension amendment, which was adopted last year. Governor Warren was for repeal. If the McLain machine survives a series of recent scandals involving its leaders, it will put on another referendum campaign next year, considerably complicating the 1950 race. But already a rival pension machine, a coalition of the men who ran the Ham-and-Egg and Townsend movements, has started collecting signatures to put a measure of its own on the ballot next year. It proposes higher pensions, financed through legalized gambling.

The McLain amendment raised old-age-assistance payments to $75 a month; lowered the eligible age from 65 to 63; relieved children of the responsibility for supporting their parents; and considerably increased the amount of property that old people might own before they became ineligible for pensions. Shortly before the 1949 vote on repeal of this amendment, a committee of the State Legislature found that the McLain Citizens' Committee for Old Age Pensions had paid $132,000 to an advertising agency which had been owned successively by one of McLain's associates and by McLain, within less than a year. This sum represented, presumably, payments for advertising, including a 15-percent commission to the agency.

Meanwhile, a scramble is on to win the old-folks vote for candidates, quite apart from measures. Governor Warren is talking about a special session of the legislature to patch up and liberalize what remains of the state pension law. He promises that administration of the new law by state officials will be liberal. Oliver J. Carter, Democratic state chairman, goes even farther, and asks that the legislature lower the pension age to 60 and again relieve relatives of legal liability.

There is still another factor to be reckoned with in casting up the balance sheet on California. That is Artie Samish, the super-lobbyist, who boasts that the State Legislature is his puppet, and says his power is greater than that of the Governor. Some time next year, it will be possible to say whom Artie is supporting. Now it's safe only to bet that he will pick his men with care, in accordance with the interests of his clients, and that when he has made his choices, he will move heaven and earth to see that they win.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *It's Fine to Be a Congressman*

REPRESENTATIVE J. Parnell Thomas, the hectoring former chairman of the well-named "Un-American Committee" of the House of Representatives, now occupies a cell in a federal prison at Danbury, Connecticut. Even so, he is lucky to have been a member of Congress when he was indicted for cheating the government. This shouting, bullying "patriot" added to his personal income by kickbacks from dummy employees who did no work except to turn over unearned government money to an unsavory politician who managed to find gold in the mud with which he smeared American citizens who were better than he.

The chances are that if this political hoodlum had not been a member of Congress he would not have been treated so gently by a judge who spoke eloquently of the duty that Thomas owed to his country. Judge Holtzoff used stern words, but there was nothing else that was stern in a proceeding in which an example should have been made that might serve as a warning to other Congressmen of light consciences and even lighter fingers.

When Drew Pearson patriotically exposed the criminal acts of Thomas, that product of New Jersey machine politics shouted "liar." He blusteringly demanded to be heard by a grand jury, but when this opportunity was given him, he stood dumb. He besought delay after delay before being brought to trial, during which time he, his wife and his daughter-in-law continued to draw large salaries from the government. These salaries will continue until Thomas' resignation takes effect on January 1, after which this man convicted of a crime will receive a government pension.

If Thomas feels the disgrace that he has brought upon himself, no photograph of him since his conviction has shown it. On the contrary, his appearance has been one of great self-satisfaction, if not of jauntiness. To pile insult upon insult on the American people, on his way to prison, he announced that his wife would run to succeed him in Congress. Her callous affirmation of this outrageous proposal to continue the Thomas family on the public payroll will doubtless arouse an outraged sense of public decency and personal propriety that Thomas and his proposed successor do not seem to possess.

Considerately, Thomas was taken to Danbury, unhandcuffed, in a Pullman compartment. No common felon, he. Had he not been a member, although a disgraceful misfit, of the House of Representatives for many years? Politicians—judges and US Marshals among them—are aware of the unexpected twists in public opinion and they will run no unnecessary risks, even in the case of a man who, in pleading *nolo contendere* before the court, in effect pleaded guilty.

Judge Holtzoff could have sentenced Thomas to a maximum of 32 years in jail and a fine of $40,000. With an air of righteous indignation, he opined that "much good work" had been done by the "Un-American" Committee, and of this he took judicial notice as "a mitigating circumstance"! The result was a stroke on the wrist with a feather. The criminal of whom an example should have been made was let off with a fine of $10,000, barely enough to cover his illegal take, and a minimum term of six months. A man who helps to write the law should be held to a greater accountability than others if he breaks the law, but it is a safe guess that Thomas will be paroled not later than six months after adopting his prison uniform.

It will be remembered that the malodorous James M. Curley of Boston, while a member of Congress, was found guilty in a US District Court on 10 counts for using the mails to defraud and for conspiracy. He could have been fined $19,000 and given 47 years in prison, or both. Actually, he was sentenced to six to 18 months and fined $1,000. At the end of five months he was pardoned, with improved health. Having again been elected Mayor of Boston, he drew a salary of $20,000 a year during his imprisonment.

Also there is Andrew J. May, Representative from the Seventh District of Kentucky, as Thomas was from the Seventh District of New Jersey. He was convicted of accepting almost $54,000 in bribes when he was chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee. He might have been sentenced to six years in prison and fined up to $30,000, but he also was a Congressman. In 1947, he was sentenced to a mere eight to 24 months in jail, with no fine at all. It was not until December 9, last, that May was actually put behind the bars by a too lenient government. It is safe to predict that he, too, will be out of prison in no time at all.

Think what would have happened to any of these three notorious public officials if, as a private in the Army, he had been caught AWOL! These instances go to prove that he who would take money that does not belong to him, or accept bribes, or use the mails to defraud, would do well if he first had himself elected to Congress.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

LAWS AND THE MEN WHO MAKE THEM

by Jacob D. Hyman

JEROME FRANK'S *Courts on Trial* is one of those rare books on lawyers and courts which can be read with pleasure and profit by laymen. In many respects it is a sequel to *Law and the Modern Mind*, in which, almost 20 years ago, Judge Frank definitively exploded the myth, long cultivated by lawyers, that the rules of law applied by courts are clear and certain, deduced logically from given materials of unquestionable authority. In the present volume, he sets out to demolish the closely related myth that the facts out of which a law suit arises can be determined with certainty by the judicial process. His attack is thorough and devastating. Every aspect of the procedures and philosophy of the law that might seem to provide some degree of certainty is examined and found wanting.

COURTS ON TRIAL, by Jerome Frank (Princeton University Press; $5).
ON UNDERSTANDING THE SUPREME COURT, by Paul A. Freund (Little, Brown; $3).
THE CONSTITUTIONAL WORLD OF MR. JUSTICE FRANKFURTER: Some Representative Opinions, selected and edited by Samuel Konefsky (Macmillan; $4.50).

I rather doubt that most people have ever been much impressed by the notion that the law is certain and predictable. From Judge Frank's account, it would seem that this comforting myth has been espoused chiefly by the lawyers, judges and legal philosophers who have perpetuated it, deliberately or unthinkingly. But the value of the book is not lessened because the devotees of the myth are fewer than the author may have thought. In the course of his attack, Judge Frank gives the legal profession, as well as the layman, a valuable analysis of where the real problems of the courts lie. The "true facts" can never be ascertained with compete certainty. And, by the very nature of their function, courts must eternally seesaw between stability and change, between the goal of achieving certainty and predictability by precise rules and the goal of individualizing justice by considering the unique aspects of each case. Once all this is generally understood, the public can call upon lawyers and judges to show that their methods are achieving the best possible adjustment of the inevitably contradictory demands. And the lawyers and judges, freed of the assumed need to strike a false pose, can address themselves effectively to the job of improving their performance.

At times Judge Frank's enthusiasm for his main thesis carries him to extremes. Loath to admit that anything can be done—now or in the future—to reduce materially the uncertainty of the law, he is driven to condemn as futile all recent attempts to formulate a science of law. Not content with this, he proceeds in a dozen pages to challenge the whole field of social science, arguing that there is not and can never be any such thing as a social "science." Surely this is a hasty and unscientific pronouncement. Most social scientists are ready to admit that their present knowledge is fragmentary and their present techniques tentative. But even in its present state such a social science as criminology, for example, can help a judge in deciding on a sentence, though it cannot give a perfect prediction of how each individual convict will respond to a given type of penological treatment.

One path to certainty in the law might be thought to lie in the age-old doctrine that there are eternal, immutable principles for the government of man. In explaining why natural-law concepts cannot eliminate uncertainty in the administration of justice, Judge Frank reminds us of the essential vagueness of those concepts and the contradictory causes which they have been made to serve. Wider recognition of these facts might lessen the tendency, particularly evident in current discussions about law and education, to insist that no one may be permitted to claim any values at all unless he acknowledges some transcendental source for them. Our course as a nation might be made clearer if some of the energy expanded in fruitless controversy about the source of values were directed toward the formulation and restatement of the many values which are in fact widely shared.

I have suggested that it would be desirable for laymen with any broad interest in society to read Judge Frank's book. No one, lawyer or layman, who has failed to read Professor Freund's lectures, *On Understanding the Supreme Court*, should be allowed to dazzle himself and the world with brilliant interpretations of the characters and philosophies of the Supreme Court Justices. Professor Freund, now teaching at Harvard, was, until recently, a distinguished member of the staff of the Solicitor General. He writes with deceptive ease and clarity; the layman can follow easily, probably unaware of the precision and power of the analysis behind the fluent and witty generalizations. The first lecture particularly should make it clear even to the superficial reader that the task of the Supreme Court is one of great complexity; that the areas of agreement in doctrine are large and most important; and that the nature of and reasons for the disagreements are more complex than some writers have led us to believe. The remaining two lectures—on the same high level—are a study of Justice Brandeis and an examination of the role of counsel in Supreme Court litigation.

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wonder about the utility of collections of judicial opinions. No doubt hey often solve the problem of finding a gift for the lawyer in the family, ut are they read? If any are, Professor Konefsky's collection of representative opinions of Justice Frankurter should be. The opinions are vell chosen and edited. Stylistically hey are on a high level, with occaional passages of eloquence. But most f them are, inescapably, technical and lifficult. There is little in them that ne would read just for pleasure.

Additional interest, however, is supplied by the introductory section composed of brief excerpts from writings bout Justice Frankfurter—some critial, some adulatory. One critic, for example, charges that Justice Frankfurter as "no feel for the dominant issues; e operates best when weaving crochet atches of legalism on the fingers of is case." This is a provocative comnent. But a reader can hardly evaluate t without reading, at the very least, with Justice Frankfurter's opinopinions of the other Justices same cases. And if the reader o go to the reports, a collection ike this is of little value as source naterial. A judge's opinions must necssarily be partisan; they present his wn statement of the issues and his ustification for resolving them as he lid. For this reason, a collection of udicial opinions would seem to be nost useful if accompanied by a riendly, interpretative essay. Dean ouis L. Jaffe's recent penetrating aricle on Frankfurter in the *Harvard aw Review* would make an admirable omplement to this collection.

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THE SUCCESS OF FORM

OVING, by Henry Green (The Viking Press; $3).

OME YEARS AGO, a couple of the arly books by a promising young nglishman were published in this ountry, but their reception was far rom enthusiastic and publishers were ot encouraged to reprint his later novels here. Now The Viking Press ventures to issue a number of them in an American edition, and begins with one called *Loving*, originally published in 1945 and preceded to this country by impressive judgments from English critics. The chorus of acclaim has been taken up here and it looks as if, with this second attempt, Henry Green is successfully launched in America.

These novels are rightly admired for their artistry by an age whose literary taste (where there is consciousness of these matters) tends to the formal, the intellectual. (Intellectual, in Green's case, in the *sense* of form, rather than any conscious cerebration; Green's *ideas*, when he is tempted by them, are rather banal generalities.) His books are tightly designed; the stark titles announce the theme or situation which the novel sets itself to explore: *Blindness*, *Living*, *Party Going*, for example, are early books. *Caught* is an account of the Auxiliary Fire Service in London during 1940; *Back*, the homecoming experiences of a disabled soldier; *Loving*, a study of life—particularly below stairs—in a castle in neutral Ireland during the war. These last three, by the way, seem to me among the best books about the war in the special sense that they obliquely record the changes brought about in private worlds by pressure from larger events.

Loving is a good choice by which to introduce Green to a new public—except that it may be too good, for it is the most consistently readable, and is likely to be the most popular, of its author's books. *Back* seems to me larger and more impressive as an experiment. The isolation of the castle life in *Loving* is defined by "the ruined wall which shut this demesne from tumble-down country outside." The English masters and (mostly English) servants choose to keep aloof from the local inhabitants ("We're practically in enemy country here you know"), while, finally, Ireland itself is cut off by its neutrality from the outside world.

The "loving" cuts in all directions across this remote but crowded scene. The butler, Charley Raunce, warns Bert, his pantry boy: "You should clean your teeth before ever you have anything to do with a woman," and boasts to the frightened adolescent, "Let me tell you there was many an occasion I went up to Mamselle's boudoir to give her a long bongjour before she went back to France." Bert moons with calf love after Edith, a lovely housemaid, but Edith loves Raunce: "When he kissed her she kissed him back with such passion, all of her hard as a board, that he flopped back flabbergasted, having caught a glimpse of what was in her waiting for him." Kate, another housemaid, accepts Irish Paddy; "A big, grown girl like her, an' that ape out of a zoo" scandalize Raunce. "'She was lonely,' Edith explained, 'an' she watched us'." When Edith went to call her young mistress the morning after Captain Davenport, a neighbor, had dined at the castle, "a movement over in the bed attracted her attention. ... She saw a quick stir beside the curls under which Mrs. Jack's head lay asleep, she caught sight of someone else's hair as well, and it was retreating beneath silk sheets. A man. Her heart hammered fit to burst her veins." While the doves, forever floating in the air around the castle, "went on quarrelling, murdering, and making love again."

The incidents accumulate and reinforce one another, but there is scarcely any distinction between the servants, Mrs. Jack, or the doves. The "loving" is impersonal passion; we never know enough of the characters to make out a less direct emotion. They are presented externally, by snatches of talk, by their movements and appearance. These are excellent as far as they go. Green's really remarkable dialogue and his sensuous perception of the external world—people and animals, houses and landscape—account for his most memorable scenes. But much of his writing is too exclusively scenic: a situation demanding more dramatic development is often static; when characters should be closely focused in a significant judgment, they are re-

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mote, like people overheard for a moment, however intuitively, or glimpsed from a high window.

This often crippling distance from his characters seems to be what Philip Toynbee meant when he referred (in the *Partisan Review*) to Green's limitation as lack of either passion or compassion. Limitation is too flattering a term, deprivation a more exact description. When his inventiveness weakens or his sheer brilliance becomes a bit tiresome, a repellent chill pervades Green's novels.

If, as has been suggested, these strictures apply less to *Loving* than to others of the novels, that is because Green here develops his theme in terms of which he is a minor master. The narrative wears thin in places, but the book is deliberately less a drama than a picture, and what matters, after all, and what is sustained, is the bewitched atmosphere. The vast, decaying, "shadowless castle of treasures," cut off from the world, is the scene of a modern fairy tale in which it is natural to equate maids, mistress, and the circling doves, and which ends as the beautiful Edith and the butler with "his hangdog face" "were married and lived happily ever after."

JOHN FARRELLY

TROUBLE IN AFRICA

NORTH AFRICAN NOTEBOOK, by Robin Maugham (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

THOSE WHO READ *The Servant*—that morbid, magnificently written thriller about human collapse in postwar London—may be surprised to hear that in August, 1947, its author set out "to discover what was happening in the Arab lands which stretch from the Mediterranean to the frontier of Egypt." Having studied Arab affairs for six years, Robin Maugham did not arrive in Africa cold.

His *Notebook*, illustrated with some excellent photographs, tells a depressing story. Maugham reports that North Africa—from Tangier to Libya—is politically and physically one hell of a mess. In Spanish Morocco, fascism plus colonialism has bled the Arabs white. In French Morocco, with the Lyautey tradition dying, Arab nationalism, despite brutal efforts to stem it, "is inexorably gaining ground." The French are frankly worried. They are even more worried in Algeria, where on V-E Day the military quelled a revolt by killing "probably forty thousand" Arabs. Only in Libya, where a small British administration governs "an area over twice the size of Britain," did the author glimpse a ray of light. But even this gleam was soon dimmed by sight of "the old cocktail-cum-polo atmosphere which isolates Europeans from Arabs. . . ."

Emphasizing the extreme importance of North Africa to the democracies and to Russia, Maugham points out that the power that holds both Italy and Tunisia would dominate the whole Mediterranean area. With this in mind, "French Communists and their fellow-travelers in Tunis," he maintains, "are . . . now preparing a powerful Fifth Column, so that, supposing a non-Communist France is on the side of the Allies when the appointed day comes, the local Party can join with the far stronger Communist Party in Algeria." What Britain and the United States should do, he urges in this intelligent little book, is to "proclaim a 'Monroe Doctrine' for the Middle East before it is too late"—and thereby convince the Arabs that they do not wish to be their masters.

JAMES STERN

THE QUAKERS HATE WAR

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION: SOME QUAKER PROPOSALS FOR PEACE; A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee (The Yale University Press; cloth, $1; paper, 25 cents).

IN THE BELIEF that war between Russia and the United States is not inevitable, the American Friends Service Committee appointed a Quaker "working party" a year ago with the twin purposes of determining the chief causes of East-West friction and considering how they might be diminished. A preliminary report on their findings, issued last July, was greeted with mingled hope, charity and cynicism. Acknowledging the validity of some constructive criticisms made at that time, the Quakers have revised the report for its present book form.

The most important thing about this little book is not that it offers any easy solution to the cold war but rather that it goes about the task of examining peaceful alternatives calmly and logically. The Report begins with certain "basic considerations," including the premise that "there is the possibility of enough accommodation" between the US and USSR for them to compete without either system surrendering to the other. It assumes, too, that because the Soviets have in the past amended their interpretation of Marxist doctrine, they could conceivably toss out the theory of the final conflict.

The Report emphasizes that the price we may pay for continuing the cold war cannot be measured in dollars alone. "A high level of armaments," it warns, "can weaken democratic countries . . . by leading to restrictions on civil liberties and by reducing the standards of living of their peoples. It can also strengthen authoritarian rule where it now exists." The Quaker working party then suggests concrete steps which, with wise statesmanship, might relieve tensions. These cover a wide area—from relaxation of US export controls for Eastern Europe to an optimistic program for a unified, unoccupied Germany. The major stress is placed on strengthening the UN and the achievement of armaments control (coupling atomic and conventional weapons).

Cynics will dismiss this excellently argued brief for an approach to peace by asking, "What about Russia? Don't they have to change their ways?" The Quakers do not deny this. But they feel that as Americans we can best exert a constructive pressure on the international situation if we believe "that the importance of preventing war—with the resultant disaster for the United States and for democratic and free institutions everywhere—is so

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great that it would make a good investment for the United States to make more than merely 'a reasonable effort' to improve the situation."

Everyone who has not accepted the Marxist "theory" of the inevitable war (often called the General Groves theory in Moscow) should read this remarkable and refreshing book.

RICHARD LAUTERBACH

MUSIC: Recent Records

THE USUAL seasonal pot-boilers have been largely absent from this year's pre-Christmas record lists. Columbia, it is true, offers traditional carols by the Mount Holyoke Glee Club; half a dozen familiar hymns, such as "O Come All Ye Faithful" and "The First Nowell," sung by an earnest English vocal quartet; and Morton Gould's "Serenade of Carols for Small Orchestra" and "Suite of Christmas Music." In the main, however, the major record companies appear to have realized that a gift of Christmas music will not greatly interest its recipient in July. Instead, they have concentrated on a repertory of safe and sane classics, with a few token gestures in the direction of contemporary music. Here are some of the best recent releases, as well as a few that require a word of warning.

STANDARD ORCHESTRAL WORKS

HAYDN: Symphony No. 93, D major.

A top-drawer interpretation of one of the less known symphonies of the masterly set Haydn wrote for the London impresario, Salomon. It is conducted in brilliant, clean fashion by Toscanini's 27-year-old Italian protégé, Guido Cantelli, and played in the most lucid style of the NBC Symphony (RCA Victor).

HAYDN: Symphony No. 73, D major ("La Chasse").

This blithe and charming work is blown up, muddied up, and generally distorted in a gauche and exaggerated performance by Fabien Sevitzky and the Indianapolis Symphony (RCA Victor).

MOZART: "Prague" Symphony.

The St. Louis Symphony extends itself (without rivaling the best Eastern orchestras) to respond to Vladimir Golschmann's discriminating direction of one of the greatest Mozart symphonies (RCA Victor).

MOZART: "Jupiter" Symphony.

Toscanini and the NBC Symphony at the peak of perfection, in a gleaming recording (RCA Victor).

MOZART: "Masonic Funeral Music."

Though I have not heard this recording, I can recommend it on hearsay. Stately music, well played by Herbert von Karajan, one of Europe's rapidly rising conductors, and the Vienna Philharmonic (Columbia).

BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 3 ("Eroica").

Bruno Walter views the noble score with love, if not with the most rigorous ideas about its structure. Played by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Columbia).

BEETHOVEN: Overture to "The Consecration of the House."

A crisp reading, by Toscanini and the NBC Symphony, coupled with a revelatory version of Schumann's beautiful "Manfred" Overture (RCA Victor).

LISZT: "Les Préludes."

Two new versions of this well-worn but effective symphonic poem are available. I prefer the aristocratic texture of the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Columbia), but Stokowski's version (RCA Victor) is high, wide and handsome, though the nameless orchestra is not quite up to the Philadelphia.

BRAHMS: Variations on a Theme by Haydn.

If you doubt that the Philadelphia Orchestra is the greatest ensemble in the world, listen to the miracles of tone quality, balance and articulation in this recording. Ormandy's tempos are odd in a couple of movements, but in the main he realizes the intentions of the score admirably (Columbia).

STRAUSS: "Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks."

With the aid of the Cleveland Orchestra, now a first-class group, George Szell offers as fine a Strauss interpretation as you will hear from any conductor, not excluding Fritz Reiner's in his recording of the music from "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme"—an older release well worth hearing (both Columbia).

OFFENBACH: "Gaîté Parisienne."

Two performances, of unequal merit, are available. Efrem Kurtz, with Columbia's own symphony orchestra, finds a wide range of sentiment in the lighthearted tunes, and also preserves the ballet tempos faithfully (Columbia). Arthur Fiedler's account with the Boston Pops Orchestra (RCA Victor) is merely brisk and businesslike.

MODERN ORCHESTRAL MUSIC

STRAVINSKY: Orpheus.

The composer conducts the RCA Victor Orchestra in a sensitive performance of one of his choicest recent works. George Balanchine's successful ballet to this score was one of the chief attractions of the season just concluded by the New York City Ballet (RCA Victor).

PROKOFIEV: Cinderella.

Imitation Tchaikovsky and Glazounov, with a dash of the irony Soviet officialdom has not been able to quell in Prokofiev. Conducted by Warwick Braithwaite, and played by the orchestra of Covent Garden, which knows the score well, having accompanied many performances by the Sadler's Wells Ballet (Columbia).

DEBUSSY: Jeux.

A little-known and, frankly, second-rate ballet score composed for the Diaghilev company, presented with the utmost sensibility and technical expertness by Victor de Sabata (now appearing in this country as guest conductor of the Chicago, Pittsburgh and New York orchestras) and his home ensemble, the Augusteo Orchestra of Rome (RCA Victor).

CHAMBER MUSIC CLASSICS

HAYDN: "Lark" Quartet and "Sunrise" Quartet.

An appropriate early-morning freshness suffuses the Budapest's performances of two of the best and most popular Haydn quartets (RCA Victor).

MOZART: Quartet in D minor, Köchel No. 415.

The unsurpassed Hungarian quartet conveys the poignancy of this thoughtful and lovely work (RCA Victor).

SCHUMANN: Quintet for Piano and Strings.

Rudolf Serkin captures the full ex-

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uberance of this volatile piece, which is the archetype of most later works for piano and strings, in the brilliance of the role assigned to the piano. The Busch Quartet plays musically, but with few tonal blandishments (Columbia).

VIOLIN AND CELLO MUSIC

TCHAIKOVSKY: Concerto, D major, for violin and orchestra.

A transcendent performance, as fine as any ever recorded, by Isaac Stern and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Alexander Hilsberg (Columbia).

GLAZOUNOV: Concerto, A minor, for violin and orchestra.

Nathan Milstein provides both warmth and brilliance in this lush favorite of Russian violinists. William Steinberg conducts the RCA orchestra (RCA Victor).

CHOPIN: Sonata, G minor, for cello and piano. Two versions.

Gregor Piatigorsky's tone is richer, and, with Ralph Berkowitz as pianist he imparts more of a virtuoso air to the piece (Columbia); but Efrem Kurtz and Artur Balsam are better in the passages requiring aristocratic taste and reticent delivery (RCA Victor).

KEYBOARD MUSIC

SCARLATTI: Sonatas (Longo Editions Nos. 382, 461, 497, Supplement 20).

The empress of the harpsichord, Wanda Landowska, delivers a varied selection of brief Scarlatti pieces (all on a single disc) with her usual persuasiveness and with the advantage of an uncommonly lifelike reproduction of the instrument (RCA Victor).

MENDELSSOHN: Sonata No. 6, D minor.

E. Power Biggs, who is bringing organ literature into wider popularity, acquaints the general musical audience with a vigorous work based largely on Lutheran chorales. He plays with dynamism, and choses tasteful and clear registrations; the organ tone is effectively recorded (Columbia).

SCHUMANN: Fantasia, C minor.

Add Rudolf Firkusny to the small list of distinguished Schumann interpreters, for his performance of the Fantasia reveals all the requisites—freedom and abandon, a firmly controlled rhythmic pulse, a feeling for structural solidarity, and expressive use of *rubato* in lyric passages (Columbia).

PROKOFIEV: Concerto No. 3, for piano and orchestra.

William Kapell at the top of his bent, with an assured accompaniment by Antal Dorati and the Dallas Symphony (RCA Victor).

GERSHWIN: Second Rhapsody; Variations on "I Got Rhythm"; Three Preludes.

Authentically set forth by Oscar Levant, who learned his Gershwin at the source (Columbia).

Note: All Columbia records listed above are available in both 78-r.p.m. and 33 1/3 r.p.m. (long-playing) format. All RCA Victor records reviewed are available in both conventional 78-r.p.m. and small 45-r.p.m. albums.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: "Gott Mit Uns"

AN EAGERNESS to contribute simultaneously to the celebration of Holy Year and to the arsenal of the Cold War has involved Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in a confusing message for the Christmas season. The double-barreled argument of "The Red Danube" is that the church, specifically the Church of Rome, is the last best hope of humanity and that the Russians are beasts outside the pale of God or man. The picture is an involved and tiresome mixture of melodrama and pathos, but propaganda always succeeds best with the already converted and there are enough Catholics and Russophobes in America today to assure "The Red Danube" of a satisfactory box office.

Two British officers (Walter Pidgeon and Peter Lawford) have arrived in Vienna to assist in the repatriation of Russian citizens stranded by the war in the British zone of occupation. They are billeted in a convent presided over by Mother Superior Ethel Barrymore, who is also harboring Janet Leigh, a Russian ballerina of German ancestry now urgently sought by the Soviets. Louis Calhern, who personifies the Red Army, indicates that he is a hard lot by failing to remove his hat in church, but otherwise seems much too benevolent for his "butcher" role.

The parallel plots that develop from this point concern Pidgeon's conversion to Christianity through the blandishments of Miss Barrymore, and Lawford's frantic attempts to save his beloved Miss Leigh from a fate he suspects to be much worse than the avowed one of returning her to the Bolshoi Theatre. Miss Barrymore is successful, but Miss Leigh chooses the freedom of an open window as preferable to a resumption of her dancing career under Russian sponsorship.

There is little to be said of the proselytizing that goes on in the picture; it is on the puerile level of contrived miracles and arch humor and displays Miss Barrymore in another of those briskly coy old-lady parts that so ill accord with her talents and her name. As religious persuasion, the movie is only embarrass-

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ing. But "The Red Danube's" political message is a more serious matter, for there it offers, not sentimental arguments, but the powerful visual stimulants of mass brutality, torment and death.

It is undoubtedly true that many Soviet citizens were repatriated against their will, though obviously not every Russian, as the picture implies, learned the news of his imminent journey home with horror and an impulse to suicide. Forcible repatriation is only one aspect of Soviet contempt for the security of the individual, and the question of Russian DPs is one of the most painful and delicate ones that has faced the State Department and the United Nations. But M-G-M, a spokesman for neither of those bodies, asserts that this picture is pure fiction (based on Bruce Marshall's *Vespers in Vienna,* to be precise). It specifically disclaims responsibility for any resemblance to real people or actual events. So we may fairly ask why, with the world of fiction to choose from, the studio was so struck by this trite and hate-loaded yarn.

"The Red Danube" is the kind of "entertainment" that is always fed a people who are being fattened for war, and it is not excused by the fact that the Russians are brutal to their citizens or that their propaganda mills turn out much the same sort of incitement to violence. Russia is known to be a totalitarian, godless country and we are said to be free men who still celebrate the birth of Christ. There should be some difference in our methods. At the least, if our masters are determined to send us against the Russians, let them leave God out of the picture.

On the other hand, M-G-M's screen transcription of the Broadway show, "On the Town," is a proper contribution to the gayety of the season. It is fast, tuneful, with moments of stylish dancing and with a comic sense which, if obvious, is too good-humored and unassuming to be resisted. The three sailors on a day off in New York are Gene Kelly, Frank Sinatra and Jules Munshin (the last quite the equal of the two more famous scapegraces); their remarkably fetching pick-ups are Vera-Ellen (who with Kelly carries the dancing), Betty Garrett (in charge of slapstick) and Ann Miller (who is pretty enough to get away with doing very little). A couple of the dances, presumably engineered by Kelly, use camera techniques to produce fresh effects that are more than imitations of the musical stage, and New York in person, from Coney Island to Grant's Tomb, is a fine Technicolor set for the frolic. "On the Town" is as good clean fun as a roller-coaster ride—only a psychologist on a busman's night out would wonder why two of the three girls make love like oversexed cave women or why Vera-Ellen, in her longest dance, knocks out some twenty-five muscular males and piles them up like firewood.

Considering what it cost, the number of people who worked on, and in, it, and the grotesque advance ballyhoo it has received, Cecil B. DeMille's "Samson and Delilah" is the most conspicuously silly picture of recent years. Even so, it serves a purpose. Many of us have forgotten (and the youngest movie generation has never known) what Hollywood once meant by a super-colossal production. In the period following "Intolerance," costume pageants of breathtaking costliness became a frequent screen occurrence. The studio magnates, who understood only that Griffith's picture was big, set out to make imitations still bigger. But these monsters passed like the dinosaur, and for the same reason: their brains were too small for their bodies. The movies improved slowly, perhaps, but in a span of twenty years the advance was considerable. This throwback to the ice age is a reminder that evolution works also in Hollywood. Hedy Lamarr wields the shears, Victor Mature pulls down the temple, and George Sanders, as the governor of Gaza, is every inch an English public-school stinker. ROBERT HATCH

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STATE of the UNION

A Program for Liberal America

In the January 16 issue of the *New Republic,* there will appear a special supplement on the *State of the Union.* Inaugurated last year to parallel the President's traditional message to Congress, the supplement was an outstanding success and many thousands of reprints were sold to unions, schools and other organizations.

The supplement, which will henceforth be an annual *New Republic* feature, will outline the program for 1950 in an atmosphere of extreme urgency but of greater hopefulness. It will specify what legislation must be introduced and passed by Congress if liberal goals are to be advanced. Divided into four sections, the supplement will cover:

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▸ Means of increasing and distributing farm and industrial production, through valley development, curbing monopoly and a loan program. Increasing purchasing power through a revised tax program, vocational training and the minimum wage. Maintaining our resources in tidelands oil, atomic energy, coal, soil, etc.

II. A HEALTHY AMERICA

▸ The essentials of a national health policy and medical aid; a housing program that will be equal to the need of a growing population and higher standards of living; the widening and strengthening of social security; the requisites of a bill to extend federal aid to education.

III. A FREE AMERICA

▸ A review of state and national programs on Civil Rights with proposals for 1950; a review of the loyalty program and administration with measures to guard against witch-hunting; a review of the nation's position on economic freedom: the status of Taft-Hartley and anti-labor laws in the various states with a program for sound labor legislation.

IV. A SECURE AMERICA

▸ A review and summary of unbalance and distortion in our foreign policy: ECA, Point Four, food surpluses, TVA and the Middle East. The security program: MAP and the North Atlantic Pact, atomic-energy negotiations, how much secrecy and control in home defense? Germany, the control of the Ruhr, European federation, recognition of China, a Peace Treaty with Japan, America-Britain-Canada as partners in responsibility and need.

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